

Liberation Distributors Special Supplement:

Phony Communism Is Dead... Long Live Real Communism!

**Featuring two vital and urgent works on revolutionary communism
by Bob Avakian**

In the past few years, the powers-that-be and their apologists have proclaimed the "failure" and "death of communism." The message is that the world as it is can't be changed and that any attempt at deepgoing change will only lead to disaster. In the face of this barrage, Bob Avakian has once again stepped forward to confront the difficult questions of the day and to chart the path forward. In two new works, *Phony Communism Is Dead...Long Live Real Communism!*, and *Democracy: More Than Ever We Can and Must Do Better Than That*, he offers up a spirited defense and presentation of revolutionary communism. These two new works will make a stimulating and indispensable contribution to the current discussion and debate about revolution, the future of socialism and communism, and the very possibility of fundamental change.

**PHONY COMMUNISM IS DEAD. . .
LONG LIVE REAL COMMUNISM!
by Bob Avakian**

"There is nothing more uplifting than communism—nothing which gives greater scope to human imagination and creativity, to the vision of a vastly different world, and to the initiative of the masses in creating such a world. That the rulers of the Soviet Union could not inspire people with this ideal is a condemnation of them. But more than that, it is a reflection of the fact that they had abandoned and betrayed the principles of communism and become but another group of enforcers of the old order."

Bob Avakian has written a bold and challenging book that cuts right to the debate of our times. Is capitalism the best of all possible worlds? Avakian contrasts the brutal realities of the free market to the claims of its defenders. Has communism proven to be a disastrous nightmare? Avakian refutes the charges that socialist economies are unworkable and that communism suppresses individuality and freedom. But he probes deeper, into the real history and lessons of revolution, especially the Maoist Cultural Revolution. Can revolutions survive in a hostile world? How can they avoid going sour? Can the basic people actually run society? And is it really possible to move society beyond private gain and money relations? Bob Avakian shows that communism is both visionary and practical. If you want to know what real communism is about, and if you wonder whether society has to be run as a dog-eat-dog enterprise, then you will find this book as timely as it is provocative.

**PHONY
COMMUNISM
IS DEAD...
LONG LIVE
REAL
COMMUNISM!
BOB AVAKIAN**

A WORLD TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 МИР ВЫИГРАТЬ UN MUNDO QUE GANAR

"Democracy: More Than Ever We Can and Must Do Better Than That"

by Bob Avakian

An essay appearing in the current issue of *A World To Win*, 1992/17

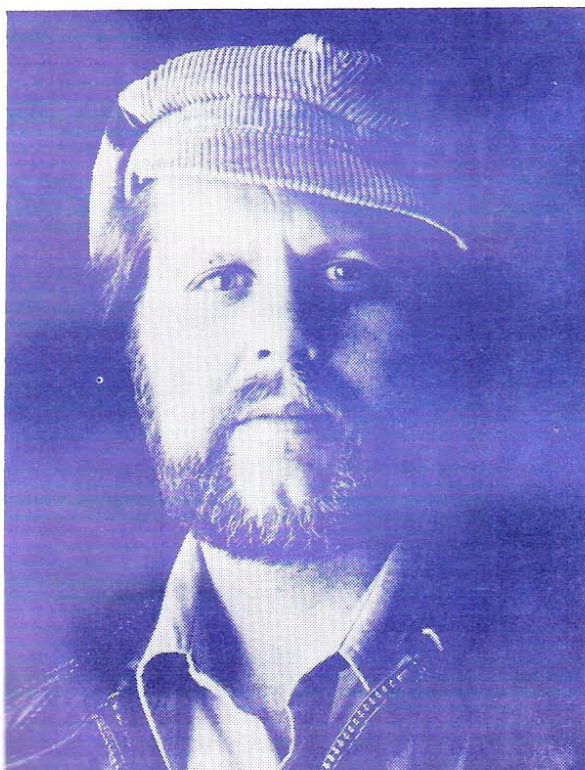
In this essay, Avakian casts his gaze on several big questions that have been thrown up all over the world since the crisis in the former Soviet bloc erupted. These crucial and contentious issues revolve around revolutionary organization and the institutional forms through which the proletariat exercises its rule. More specifically, how are we to evaluate the basic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the leading role of a communist party? Are they obstacles or necessities to the proletariat, and ultimately all humanity, in achieving liberation?

Avakian argues that the experience of the proletarian revolution since Marx, including the contributions of Lenin and Mao, has been basically right on these questions. He also shows that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a million times more democratic—for the masses—than anything imaginable under capitalism, at the same time that the communist revolution aims for something higher than democracy. And in summing up the proletariat's experience in building a new world, both the achievements and the mistakes, he points to key lessons for the next wave of proletarian revolution. Which is, after all, the point: to understand the world in order to change it.

A World To Win was inspired by the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in March 1984, which has regrouped many Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations from around the world.

A World To Win No. 17, 1992.

Magazine \$6.00



Bob Avakian, Chairman of the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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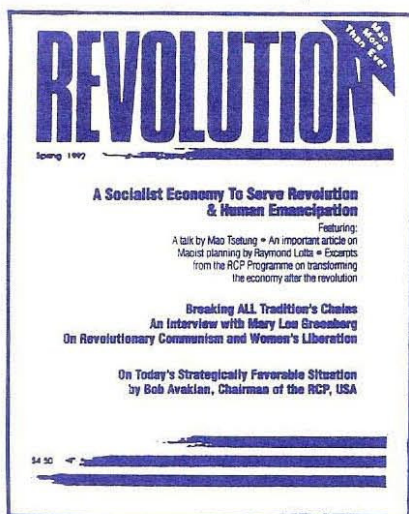
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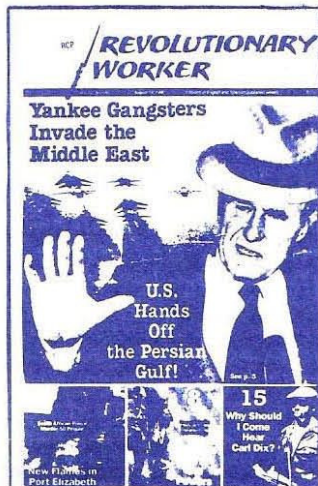
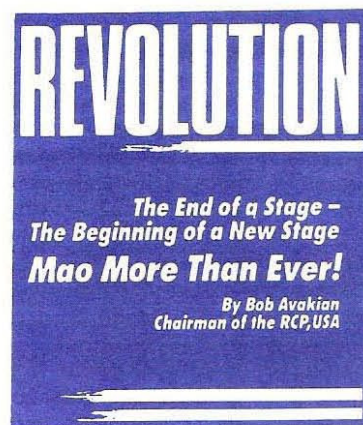
In the current issue of *Revolution* magazine, Bob Avakian discusses his provocative thesis that the present world situation is not a crisis for genuine communism but is strategically favorable for revolution. In a major essay, Raymond Lotta explodes the crude distortions of socialist economics that have become the stock-in-trade of "death of communism" ideologues. He synthesizes key Maoist principles of socialist planning and surveys the actual and liberating practice of economic planning during the Maoist revolutionary era. An interview with Mary Lou Greenberg brings to life the extraordinary social transformations, especially affecting the role of women in society, that she witnessed during a visit to revolutionary China in 1971. "It was like going on a time machine into the future—not some future as it's pictured in most science fiction where the people are the same (men as macho explorers, fighters, and dominators over women) and only their surroundings are different. I mean a future where the *people* are different and are creating a totally different socialism."

RCP Publications. magazine \$4.50

In this issue of *Revolution* magazine, Bob Avakian approaches the question of REAL communism with strategic confidence in revolution. This confidence is combined with (and founded on) an understanding that it is crucial to sum up the lessons and historical experience of communist revolution—exactly in order to advance that process. Issue number 60 discusses: the positive role of contradictions under socialism; religion and "human nature"; the achievements, mistakes and revolutionary legacy of proletarian rule; Stalin and "Stalinism"; diversity and dissent under socialism; the problem with intellectuals and the positive role of intellectuals in socialist society; whether socialist states should have nuclear weapons; youth and age in the revolutionary process; and more.

RCP Publications. 1990. 48pp./magazine \$4.00

Also available in Spanish



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER/OBRERO REVOLUCIONARIO

National Weekly Newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

The *Revolutionary Worker/Obrero Revolucionario* brings you "forbidden" news and analysis. Stories straight from the hotspots and frontlines of struggle in the U.S. and around the world. Sharp analysis that gets to the heart of the real power relations of the system. And in-depth coverage and interviews with the revolutionary people on the bottom of society who are "invisible" to the mainstream press.

It's a cold truth: If more people read the *RW/OR* on a regular basis—the people would see through the lies of the system. We would know who are our enemies, our allies, and our friends. Our resistance would be stronger. Our connections would be tighter. People would be more politicized, organized, mobilized, strategized and revolutionized. And we would be prepared to battle the powers in a new way when the *TIME* comes.

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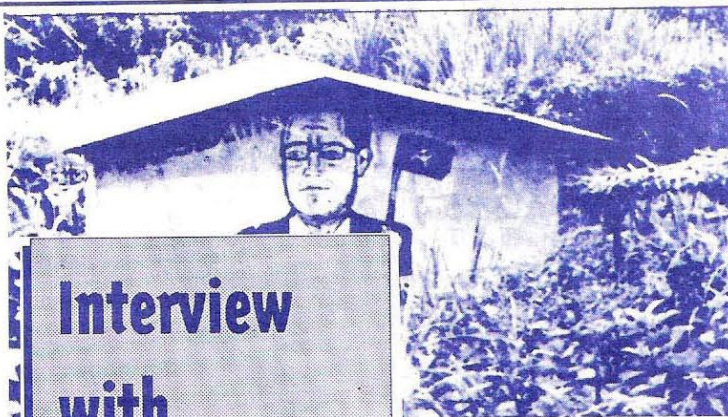
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The People's War in Peru



Peru—Graffiti portrait of Chairman Gonzalo.

Interview with Chairman Gonzalo

Interview with the Chairman of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Peru

Conducted by the editors of *El Diario* newspaper

New English Translation! Now Available!

In July 1988 the Lima daily newspaper *El Diario* hit the streets with a very special feature—an exclusive interview with Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Communist Party of Peru (called Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path in the press). In this 12-hour interview, conducted by *El Diario* co-editors Luis Arce Borja and Janet Talavera, the leader of the Maoist people's war that has been shaking Peruvian society from top to bottom emerged and put forward in his own words his vision and insights for hundreds of thousands of Peruvians to read for themselves.

News of this historic interview hit the wires all over the world. For years the Peruvian government had been floating out stories that Chairman Gonzalo was dead and that the revolution was being defeated. Here was living proof that Gonzalo was alive and well and powerfully leading the movement forward. Two editions of 100,000 copies each were sold out quickly. Then the government moved to put a stop to this, confiscating the third printing, destroying *El Diario's* presses and incarcerating co-editor Janet Talavera and other members of the

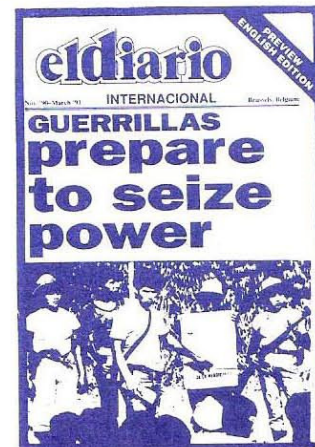
newspaper staff. (Janet Talavera is still in prison, and an international campaign is being waged for her release; Luis Arce Borja, after being attacked and hounded by the Peruvian government, is now putting out an international edition of *El Diario* from Belgium; *El Diario* itself is still being published in Lima, in the face of continued government repression.) The interview has been published in pamphlet form and is currently being distributed in countries around the world. This new English edition makes this important document available to a broad audience just at a time when the international spotlight is increasingly focused on the people's war in Peru. Paperback, 109 pages.

C.S.R.P. 1992. 109pp./ISBN 0-89928-593-7 \$5.00 (paper)

EL DIARIO INTERNACIONAL Editor, Luis Arce Borja

El Diario is the only Peruvian newspaper that has consistently printed the truth about the people's war being led by the Communist Party of Peru (known in the mainstream media as the "Shining Path" or "Sendero Luminoso"). *El Diario* has covered the views and goals of the PCP, including a full-length interview with Chairman Gonzalo (chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru) in June 1988. After the first two printings of 100,000 copies each of this interview quickly sold out, the Peruvian government confiscated the third printing, destroyed the presses, and incarcerated the assistant editor and others on the newspaper staff. Now Luis Arce Borja, the editor, is publishing an international edition, *El Diario Internacional*, from Europe. As the U.S. gears up for a full-scale invasion of Peru and the people's war surges forward, the coverage in *El Diario Internacional* is indispensable for keeping up to date on this rapidly developing conflict.

Available in English and Spanish editions
Subscriptions \$20.00 for one year



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Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

DECLARATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Adopted by the delegates and observers at the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations, and released on May Day 1984, the *Declaration* states: "At the present juncture of world history, the international proletariat has to take up the challenge of forming its own organisation, an International of a new type based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, assimilating the valuable experience of the past. And this goal must be boldly proclaimed before the international proletariat and the oppressed of the world with the same revolutionary daring of our predecessors from the Communards of Paris to the proletarian rebels of Shanghai who dared to storm heaven and resolved to do the 'impossible'—build a communist world." Includes these sections: "The World Situation"; "On the Two Component Parts of the World Proletarian Revolution"; "Some Questions Regarding the History of the International Communist Movement"; "The USSR and the Comintern"; "Mao Tsetung, the Cultural Revolution and the Marxist-Leninist Movement"; "The Tasks of Revolutionary Communists"; "Tasks in the Colonial, Semi (or Neo) Colonial Countries"; "The Imperialist Countries"; and "For the Ideological, Political and Organisational Unity of Marxist-Leninists." Signed by revolutionary parties and organizations around the world, the *Declaration* is available in the U.S. in Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Creole, Danish, English, Farsi, French, German, Hindi, Italian, Kurdish, Malayam, Punjabi, Spanish, Tamil, and Turkish.

1984. 47pp./0-89928-113-3

Pamphlet \$2.00

NEW PROGRAMME AND NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

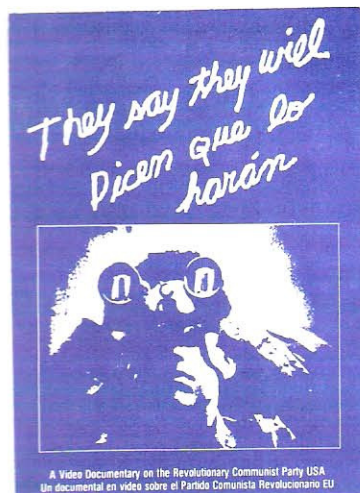
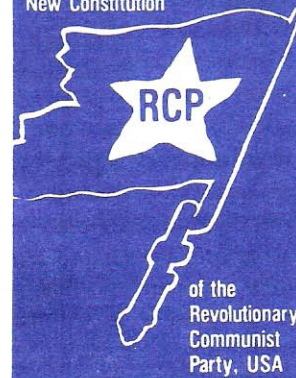
A bold and sweeping view of proletarian revolution and socialist society, from the internationalist perspective that revolutionary struggle in the U.S. is a component and subordinate part of the worldwide struggle for proletarian revolution and classless society, communism. Marked by a sense of urgency to "seize the time," this battle plan analyzes the current situation in the U.S.A. and the world from the standpoint of seizing state power—and how to get from here to there. It points clearly to armed proletarian revolution as the only road forward and looks at how revolutionary civil war might unfold in this country as the international situation explodes. What role will different class forces play in this process? How can the millions who seize power lead hundreds of millions in thoroughly transforming every aspect of society—the government, industry, agriculture, education and cultural life? How will the U.S. empire, with its international relations of plunder, be totally dismantled? How will discrimination against different nationalities and women be combatted and overcome? These are among the questions discussed in this book, which sharply combats many traditionally held but totally insufficient views that have infected and narrowed the theory and practice of the international communist movement. The *New Constitution of the RCP, USA* briefly explains the basic line of the party, its principles and tasks, and the duties of the party and its members in relation to the historic goal of revolution and communism and to the masses of people who must achieve it.

RCP. 1981. 122pp./0-89851-037-6

\$3.00

Also available in Spanish

New Programme and New Constitution



THEY SAY THEY WILL:

An award-winning video documentary on the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Against the backdrop of a tense planet where nuclear nightmares haunt the young, rebellion rocks the Third World, and police drop bombs on Black radicals in America, a fresh view of future possibilities emerges. Here the revolutionaries of our time share their vision, their strategy, and their roots.

Founded in 1975, inspired by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, the RCP is the only Maoist party in the U.S. today. Their history begins in the upheavals of the 1960s when their chairman Bob Avakian first gained experience as a revolutionary leader.

Through interviews with party representatives and supporters—long-time antiwar activists, proletarians from ghettos and barrios, Latin American immigrants, punk youth, ex-Black Panthers, including rare historical footage of Bob Avakian—a picture emerges of their uncompromising internationalism and their surprising analysis of the potential opportunities and forces for a mass armed uprising. Most surprisingly they are also convinced of the possibility of success.

This is a bilingual video available in two versions, with either Spanish or English subtitles. It won a Silver Award in the category of Political/International Issues Documentary at the 1988 Houston International Film Festival. "It is a rare thing, a beautifully made film of political opposition—an essay in contradictions that never becomes a sermon. I can recommend *They Say They Will* without reservation. It's funny, it's serious, and if you don't see it, you're missing out on history!"—Emile DeAntonio

Zone. 1987. 54 minutes. Color. VHS and BETA available.

\$39.95 (20% discount)

Also available in Spanish

MAO MORE THAN EVER!

The Collapse of the Soviet Union and Phony Communism . . . And REAL Communist Revolution!

A video featuring C. Clark Kissinger

In October 1991 a capacity crowd gathered at Revolution Books in New York City for an important talk by long-time revolutionary writer and activist C. Clark Kissinger. In this talk Kissinger examines how capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union and China and looks at the tremendous accomplishments of these two countries when they were genuinely socialist. He focuses especially on the "revolution within the revolution" during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China—which Kissinger witnessed firsthand. Based on this analysis, he delves into the fundamental principles of *genuine* as opposed to phony communism and concludes that it is capitalism itself that is in grave crisis and has no future. From an historical viewpoint, the battle for genuine communism and a truly liberated planet has just begun.

This speech is characterized by historical sweep, deep political insights, revolutionary optimism, and also by Kissinger's trademark wit and humor. It is a must see for all who desire and are fighting for the birth of a new world.

RCP. 1992. 90 minutes. Color. VHS./ISBN 0-89928-975-4

\$20.00 (20% discount)

VIDEO REVOLUTION IN PERU

"High up in remote villages of the Andes mountains; deep in the jungle on the tributaries of the Amazon; from one end of Peru to the other, a revolutionary war is raging. It is led by the Communist Party of Peru [PCP—called Shining Path by the media]. Those who are the backbone of the revolution are the outcasts of Peru, the prisoners of starvation and wretched of the earth. They are poor peasant farmers, forced by economic necessity to grow coca plants to survive. They are Indian peasants who live and work the land in mountain villages . . . They are young women, who have broken with the traditions of generations to lead guerrilla armies. They are millions of people, driven from their land in the countryside by poverty and starvation to live in the immense shantytowns of the cities—places where the police and government officials are scared to go, except with massive force . . ."

This video uses photos, revolutionary art and documentary footage to bring the people's war in Peru to life. It shows how the U.S. has Green Berets and other forces in Peru, under the cover of the "War on Drugs," and how the Maoist rebels of the PCP-led People's Guerrilla Army have already faced them in major battles. It is must viewing for anyone who wants to understand this increasingly volatile situation—and for anyone who wants to oppose U.S. intervention and support this people's war.

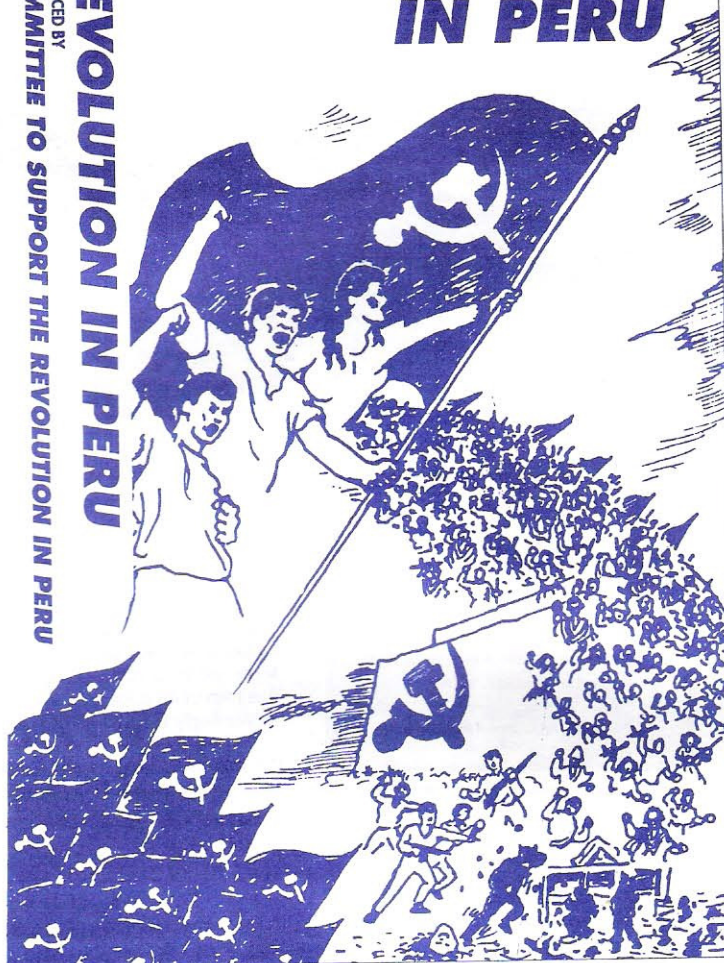
U.S. November 1990. Viewing time: 39½ minutes.

ALSO AVAILABLE IN SPANISH

Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru

\$20.00 (VHS) (20% discount)

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REVOLUTION IN PERU
COMMITTEE TO SUPPORT THE REVOLUTION IN PERU



Proletarians of all
countries, unite!

**DEVELOP THE
PEOPLE'S WAR
TO SERVE THE
WORLD
REVOLUTION**

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU

DEVELOP THE PEOPLE'S WAR TO SERVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION by the Communist Party of Peru

Dated "Peru, August 1986," this is the most extensive document by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP, often called "Sendero Luminoso" in the press) to appear in several years. It consists of two parts. "Six Years of People's War" sums up the Peruvian government's efforts to stop the people's war through mass slaughter, and it details the political and military advances achieved so far in the people's war. "One Year of the APRA Government" analyzes the 1985 Peruvian elections, refutes the Garcia government's program, deeds, and projects, exposes the government's murder of hundreds of revolutionary prisoners of war in June 1986, and answers some of the opportunist arguments used by the legal "left" against the PCP.

CSRP. 1988. 84pp./0-89928-126-5

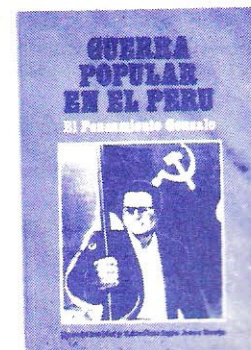
Pamphlet \$5.00

GUERRA POPULAR EN EL PERU: EL PENSAMIENTO GONZALO

Recopilación y Edición: Luis Arce Borja

Esta recopilación reúne extraordinarios documentos del Partido Comunista del Perú y discursos y conferencias del doctor Abimael Guzmán Reynoso, que abarcan 20 años de intensa lucha de clases en el Perú y constituyen un aporte invaluable para la comprensión y aplicación de la teoría revolucionaria en los pueblos oprimidos de América y del mundo. La edición de estos documentos constituía un imperativo urgente para comprender el proceso político-social más trascendental de la historia peruana y latinoamericana en su lucha por su auténtica emancipación.

1989 El Diario. 418 páginas. 0-89928-252-0 \$18.00



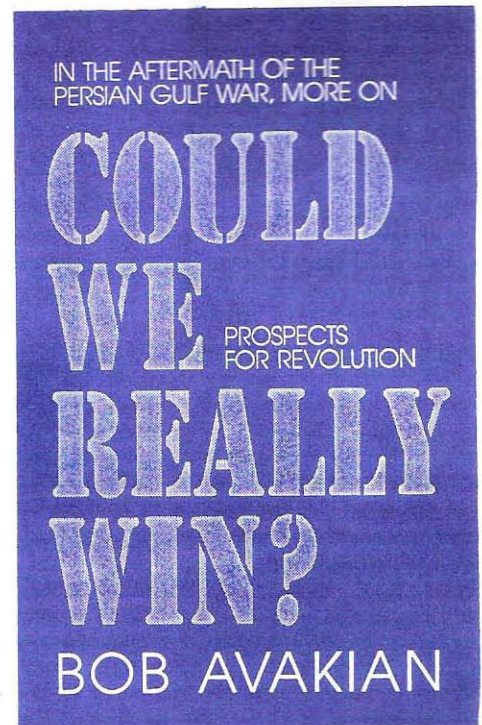
Contemporary Works of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

In the Aftermath of the Persian Gulf War, More on COULD WE REALLY WIN? Prospects for Revolution by Bob Avakian

Revolutionaries, especially Maoist revolutionaries, are famous for the view that "the power of the people is greater than the Man's technology." That was a spirit that marked the '60s in particular—with the struggle of the Vietnamese people being an important and inspiring example. But the U.S. war against Iraq, with its massive "high tech" deployment, has posed new challenges to this view. How could a revolutionary army hope to defeat the modern imperialist powers? In this interview Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, explores this question, and concludes: the power of the people is *still* greater than the Man's technology. But he argues that to make it so requires combining the decisive thing—the revolutionary energy of the masses—with a scientific doctrine and strategy for people's war. With that combination, he concludes, once the necessary conditions emerge, a people's war could have a real chance for success—even in a country like the U.S.

This book further develops the thesis in an earlier work by Bob Avakian, "Could We Really Win? The Possibility of Revolutionary War." It does so through a serious examination of the military strengths and weaknesses demonstrated by the imperialist side in the Gulf war—comparing and contrasting their forces and way of fighting to the potential strengths of the people.

RCP Publications, Price: \$5.00 ISBN: 0-89851-110-0



DEMOCRACY: CAN'T WE DO BETTER THAN THAT? by Bob Avakian

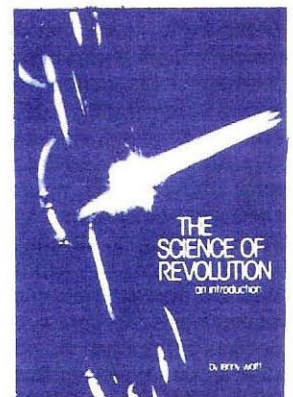
Is democracy, or "true" democracy, the pinnacle of human social organization? Is the fundamental goal of socialist revolution the broadening and deepening of democratic institutions? Bob Avakian, chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, argues that there is something far more subversive of the status quo, something far more liberating, than democracy. This book is a major work of Marxist political theory that dissects the fundamental positions and arguments of democratic theory and confronts the "crowning achievements" of democratic society. Avakian examines the notion of democracy as it was developed in ancient Greece and Rome, and subjects the democratic theory of Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Paine, and Mill to detailed analysis. He explores the ideological underpinnings of the modern theory of totalitarianism and critiques current Western Marxist and Soviet conceptions of the relationship between democracy and revolution. In concluding his study, Avakian sketches the transformative possibilities of socialist revolution while at the same time considering the problems and tensions intrinsic to making such a revolution. "Avakian argues his position on the decisive limitations of democracy in such a way that careful readers are compelled to clarify and rethink their own views. Avakian has written a serious and demanding work of political philosophy and political practice."—Norman Gottwald

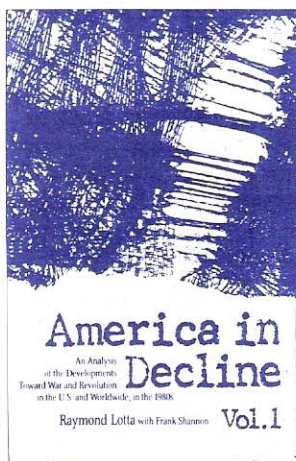
Banner. 1986. 277pp. Paper/0-916650-29-4 \$10.95

THE SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION: An Introduction by Lenny Wolff

The great teachers and leaders of the international proletariat developed an extraordinary body of theoretical work in close connection with the revolutionary storms of the last century and a half. But there has long been a need for a single work that presents the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in a concise, rigorous and lively fashion. What do Marxists mean by "dialectical materialism," and how is this philosophy key to understanding the development of nature and society? What is Marx's "labor theory of value," his uncovering of the source of capitalist profits? How is it that we are on the brink of the third world war of this century—what is the "logic of imperialism" that periodically drives it to the insanity of militarily redividing the world? What about the Leninist vanguard party—is it destined to form the nucleus of a new ruling elite, or, on the contrary, is its leadership essential to the working class's conscious struggle to free itself and all mankind? In chapters on philosophy, political economy, imperialism, the state, and the party, these questions and many more are given thorough, fresh discussion in this unique guide to Marxist theory. "As a committed, activist view of the history, conditions and causes of social revolutions, Lenny Wolff's primer, *The Science of Revolution*, is first rate."—John Gerassi.

RCP. 1983. 252pp./Paper 0-89851-036-8 \$7.95





AMERICA IN DECLINE:

An Analysis of the Developments Toward War and Revolution, in the U.S. and Worldwide, in the 1980s (Vol. 1)

by Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon

Arguably one of the most important Marxist analyses ever published in this country, *America in Decline* breaks new ground and offers fresh insights into the origins and implications of the contemporary crisis of world capitalism and into the potential that it holds for revolutionary transformation. Volume 1 contains three introductory studies. The first chapter lays the theoretical foundation for the work as a whole and sets forth its principal theses. It conceptualizes the international determinants of advanced capitalism and analyzes the necessary means through which capitalism reorganizes itself. The second chapter surveys the rise and ascendancy of U.S. imperialism, emphasizing those factors which would play a crucial part in the bolstering and unraveling of its international position in the years after 1945. The third chapter subjects the received tradition of Comintern crisis theory to blistering criticism. *America in Decline* shows that beneath the seeming madness of space weapons, beneath an international debt crisis that almost defies quantification, beneath the great power interventions in various corners of the world, and beneath the obfuscation and triviality of mainstream economic and political thought can be found an objective logic—the logic of capital in the imperialist epoch. “An ambitious and often interesting attempt at Marxist interpretation of world developments in the 20th century.”—*Foreign Affairs*. “The theory of imperialism presented in this book merits careful analysis by anyone interested in the nature of modern capitalism, problems of the Third World, and Marxist theory.”—*Journal of Economic Issues*

Banner. 1984. 278pp. Paper/0-916650-13-8

\$11.95 Cloth/0-916650-12-X

\$21.95

OF PRIMEVAL STEPS AND FUTURE LEAPS:

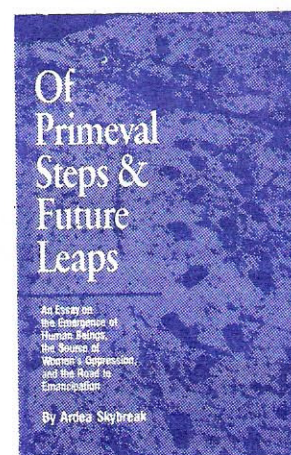
An Essay on the Emergence of Human Beings, The Source of Women's Oppression, and the Road to Emancipation

by Ardea Skybreak

For decades, anthropology has been dominated by a “Tarzanist” model of the evolution of humanity according to which our abilities to think, to speak, to fashion tools, and to reshape our material and social environment have developed almost solely out of the prehistoric hunting activities of the male of the species. This view attempts to build the sexual division of labor, including the subordinate role of women within it, into the very foundation of what distinguishes us as human. In recent years, however, new works have begun to challenge these old assumptions and provide an alternative model of human development. Skybreak surveys and analyzes this important development, focusing on several key works. She sums up the major achievements of the new approach, follows up the most penetrating and provocative insights, and criticizes some shortcomings, especially where it fails to fully break with the underlying methods and assumptions of sociobiology. She then reexamines Engels’s theory on the origins of women’s oppression in light of the recent advances. A major contribution to the debate over the origins of human behavior.

Banner. 1985. 160pp./0-916650-19-7

\$8.95



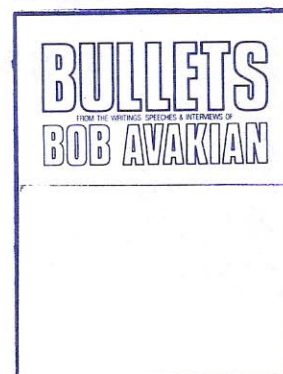
BULLETS:

From the Writings, Speeches, & Interviews of Bob Avakian

Published on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the RCP, USA, this is a pocketbook of quotations by the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party, culled from his many books, articles, speeches, and interviews. Filled with pithy insights, comments, and outrageous verbal assaults on the established order, *Bullets* provides an easily accessible introduction to the RCP’s overall analysis, its views on a wide range of questions, and its strategy for revolution. The quotations are grouped under 23 headings. The book comes in an attractive silver plastic jacket.

RCP. 1985. 292pp./0-89851-072-4 \$5.00

Also available in Spanish



FOR A HARVEST OF DRAGONS:

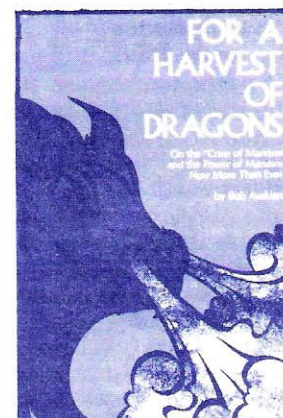
On the “Crisis of Marxism” and the Power of Marxism—Now More Than Ever

by Bob Avakian

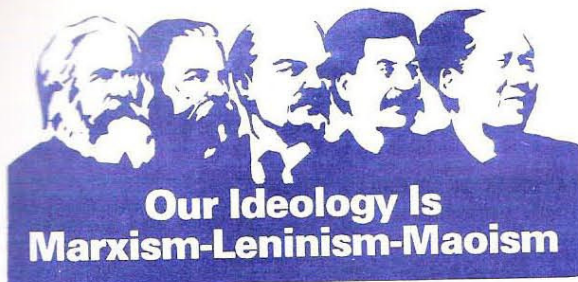
In this essay, written on the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, Avakian argues powerfully for the contemporary relevance of Marxism. He stresses that it is a dynamic system, that it advances precisely in connection with the new problems posed by developments in the world, and that there is both an invigorating Marxist tradition to uphold as well as a deadening “conventional wisdom” to renounce. Avakian begins by summarizing the theoretical revolution ushered in by Marx’s investigations—in the realms of philosophy, history, economic theory, and politics. He then proceeds to examine some of the controversies that have swirled around the course and development of Marx’s thought, in particular the relation of his early writings to his mature work and the possible divergences between Marx and Engels. Turning next to the work of Lenin and Mao, Avakian argues that their theoretical innovations represent the most important enrichment of Marxism of the 20th century. Finally, in one of the most provocative sections of his survey, Avakian subjects Soviet Marxism to withering criticism. He analyzes several representative works by Soviet scholars and shows that their method, content and outlook cut against and suffocate the revolutionary essence of Marxism. This is a landmark essay, itself striking testimony to Marxism’s continuing vitality.

RCP. 1983. 153pp. Paper/0-89851-065-1

\$6.95



Also available in Spanish



The Science of Revolution: Writings by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao

KARL MARX & FREDERICK ENGELS

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (1848), by Marx and Engels

"A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of communism." Since Marx and Engels flung these famous words in the face of the bourgeoisie in 1848, that spectre has ranged across the face of the globe, enlivening and emboldening millions to rise in rebellion under the banner of communist revolution. No single work in history has been more of a clarion call to destroy the old order and create the new. Today, the ruling classes of the world would love to relegate the *Manifesto* to the status of an historical curiosity. But behind their facade of stability and the seeming permanence of power, a tremor can still be felt as the declaration spreads: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

FLP. 1975. 84pp. Paper/0-8351-0146-0 \$3.95

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC (1880), by Engels

Engels criticizes the views of the 19th-century utopians, who sought to achieve socialism through the force of patient propaganda and the example of model communities alone while avoiding the class struggle, and who glossed over the class content of the "eternal truth and justice" to which they appealed. He goes on to discuss the rise of scientific socialism, giving a concise exposition of the difference between dialectical and metaphysical thinking, of the materialist conception of history, and of the basic contradiction of capitalism and how it lays the basis for socialism and communism. A good introduction to Marxist theory.

FLP. 1975. 108pp./0-8351-0357-9 \$2.95

CAPITAL: A Critique of Political Economy, by Marx

Intl. 1985.

Vol. I, A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production (1867)
770pp./0-7178-0621-9 \$9.95

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Vol. III, The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole (1894)
948pp./0-7178-0623-5 \$8.95

THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE (1871), by Marx

In 1871 the workers of Paris seized power and held it for two months, creating the famous Paris Commune, "the first embryo—not the fully developed mature form, but the embryo—of the future society of the working class." In summing up the lessons of the Commune, Marx shows why the working class must destroy the state apparatus of the exploiting classes and set up its own state apparatus to ruthlessly suppress any attempts at restoration, creating the conditions for the working class to advance through the socialist period toward communism.

FLP. 1971. 287pp. Paper/0-8351-0044-8 \$3.95

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MARX ENGELS MARXISM

An excellent one-volume introduction to Lenin's writings, containing excerpts from many of his major works and the full text of 30 articles, including "Karl Marx," "Frederick Engels," "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," "Marxism and Revisionism," "Marxism and Insurrection," and "On the Significance of Militant Materialism."

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THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

Selections from Lenin's writings on the importance of the liberation of women as a key part of the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

Intl. 1970. 136pp./0-7178-0290-6 \$2.75

IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM (1916)

Lenin's goal in this book is no less than to analyze "the fundamental economic question, viz. the question of the economic essence of imperialism, for unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics." In an extremely readable and concise manner, he synthesizes a mass of data and historical observation on the structure and functioning of capital. He concludes that capitalism has been thrust to a whole new stage of development, in which the accumulation of capital is marked by monopolization in the advanced countries, the supremacy of finance capital, the special role of the export of capital and the intensified rivalry between the great powers for the redivision of the world. This is capitalism violently straining against the limits of its own productive relations, leading inevitably to unprecedented crisis, world war, and revolutionary storms. Written as the world was plunged into the first world war and on the eve of the Bolshevik revolution, this work's contemporary relevance cannot be overestimated.

FLP. 1975. 157pp./0-8351-0113-4 \$2.95

THE STATE AND REVOLUTION (1917)

Written a few months before the October Revolution, this is Lenin's summation of Marx and Engels' theory of the state. By using extensive quotations from their writings on the 1848 revolutions and the Paris Commune, Lenin pierces the fashionable social-reformist fog that attempted to bury and distort the real Marxist view on the state and to reduce proletarian revolution to the gradual securing of positions in parliament. Lenin shows instead that the experience of the class struggle demonstrated conclusively that the only road to socialism lay in the armed seizure of power led by the proletariat, and that to maintain its power the working class would have to thoroughly dismantle the repressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie and create its own proletarian state that could crush all attempts at capitalist restoration. Lenin also expounds on the Marxist view that, with the eventual transition from socialism to communism and the elimination of classes, the state itself will wither away.

FLP. 1976. 153pp./0-8351-0372-2 \$3.95

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Burning Questions of Our Movement (1902)

This is Lenin's historic elaboration of the necessity for the politically conscious revolutionary activity of the proletariat. He draws a clear line of demarcation between this and all reformism (whether of the economist or terrorist variety) which dooms the proletariat to the endless treadmill of the narrow struggle to add a kopek to a ruble, and leaves the political stage to others. Opposing all tendencies to tail the spontaneous outlook and struggles of the masses, he argues that the working class, although it gravitates towards socialism, will never on its own develop socialist/communist consciousness. This must be developed *from the outside* by communist revolutionaries through comprehensive political exposure that trains the masses to "respond to all cases, without exception, of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter what class is affected.... The consciousness of the masses of the workers cannot be genuine class consciousness unless the workers learn to observe from concrete, and above all from topical (current) political facts and events, every other social class and all the manifestations of the intellectual, ethical and political life of these classes; unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and materialist estimate of all aspects of the life and activity of all classes, strata and groups of the population." Closely linked with and flowing from this is the necessity for a disciplined organization of the most conscious vanguard of the working class, professional revolutionaries, to train and lead the proletariat in making revolution.

FLP. 1975. 253pp. Paper/0-8351-0426-5 \$3.95

J. V. STALIN

FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM (1924)

A systematic presentation of Lenin's contributions to Marxism: "Leninism, Its Method and Theory," "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," "The National Question," "The Party," etc. Stalin identifies Leninism as a new stage in the development of Marxism. FLP. 1977. 128pp./0-8351-0089-8 \$3.95

SELECTED WORKS

8 Nentori. 1980. 639pp./0-89928-182-6 Cloth \$8.95

HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (Bolsheviks) (1938)

Written under Stalin's leadership, this is the Bolsheviks' account of their own history, beginning with the formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party in 1883, through the split between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks in 1904, the revolutions of 1905 and 1917, and the party's leadership of the first socialist state in the 1920s and 1930s. Throughout, the major junctures in the intra-party struggle as well as the class struggle overall are highlighted. Red Star. 1976. 364pp./0-89928-101-X \$18.00

MAO TSETUNG

A CRITIQUE OF SOVIET ECONOMICS (1958-1960)

This is a very important contribution to Marxist political economy, in which Mao identifies key features of the socialist transition from capitalism to communism. In addition, the book provides a foundation for understanding the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union (as well as in China since Mao's death). There are two sections: Mao's reading notes on the Soviet text *Political Economy* and his notes on Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*. Mao wrote these during the period when he was beginning to grapple with the triumph of revisionism in the USSR and struggling to develop forms for the continuation of the socialist revolution in China (e.g. the Great Leap Forward). Criticizing the mechanical materialism and lack of dialectics in the *Political Economy* text, he hits particularly hard at the "theory of the productive forces" which reduced the question of socialist development to building up productive capacity and completely ignored the necessity to carry out the revolution in the superstructure (politics, culture, education, etc.) or in the relations of production. Of *Economic Problems* (although he also has favorable comments on it), he says that "Stalin mentions economics only, not politics.... The role of people, the role of the laborer—these are not mentioned.... Stalin's book from first to last says nothing about the superstructure. It is not concerned with people; it considers things, not people." In contrast, Mao emphasizes the decisive role of the masses, their revolutionary consciousness, and the class struggle in developing the socialist economy and moving toward classless society. Monthly Review. 1977. 157pp./0-85345-412-4 \$4.50

SELECTED READINGS FROM THE WORKS OF MAO TSETUNG

Includes "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" (1926), "Report on An Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" (1927), "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (1938), all the articles in *Five Essays on Philosophy*, and the complete text of thirty other articles written up through 1963.

FLP. 1971. 504pp./0-8351-0324-2/Cloth \$9.95

SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSETUNG

Most complete collection of Mao's writings in English that was published in China.

Vol. I First and Second Revolutionary Wars (1926-37)
347pp. Paper 0-8351-0329-3

Vol. II War of Resistance Against Japan (I) (1937-41)
468pp. Paper 0-8351-0331-5

Vol. III War of Resistance Against Japan (II) (1941-45)
290pp. Paper 0-8351-0333-1

Vol. IV Third Revolutionary Civil War (1945-49)
459pp. Paper 0-8351-0335-8

Vol. V Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction (1949-57)
518pp. Paper 0-8351-0337-4

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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

The authentic "Little Red Book," read by hundreds of millions of Chinese during the Cultural Revolution and by revolutionary-minded people everywhere. Now banned in China, where huge quantities are said to be locked in warehouses. (Note: Orders for this title will be filled subject to availability.)

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Powerful and soaring in form and content, these poems reflect the surging mass struggle that shaped revolutionary China and shook the world. A collection of 39 poems, spanning forty years, it includes two poems published in January 1976 at a crucial point in Mao's last great battle to prevent the rise to power of the revisionists headed by Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping.

FLP. 1976. 53pp. Paper/0-8351-0258-0 \$3.95

Maoist China and the Battles of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution



THEY MADE REVOLUTION WITHIN THE REVOLUTION: The Story of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution by Iris Hunter

This pamphlet tells the story of this tremendous mass movement led by Mao Tsetung which rekindled revolutionary hope and spirit in hundreds of millions of people worldwide. Hunter shows why, seventeen years after the Chinese people seized power in 1949, it again became necessary to "spring society into the air," to mobilize the people to challenge the capitalist-roaders in the Chinese Communist Party and the exploitative practices and ideas which they promoted, to develop entirely new ways of doing things in the factories, schools, arts, countryside, and all aspects of life. This was an unprecedented social experiment, involving "chaos on a grand scale," which came under vituperative attack from revisionists inside China and internationally and from the bourgeoisie of every country, who continue to try to bury and distort the truth of what happened. This brief history sums up the lessons to be popularized broadly among all those striving today to remake the world.

RCP. 0-89851-077-5 Pamphlet \$2.50

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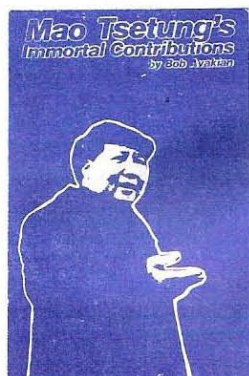
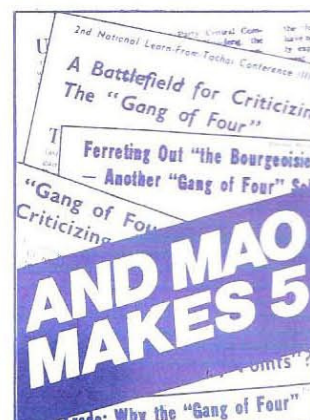
AND MAO MAKES 5:

Mao Tsetung's Last Great Battle
edited and with an introduction by Raymond Lotta

This highly valuable and provocative collection includes texts of documents and articles written under the leadership of Mao Tsetung and the "Gang of Four" covering the four years before Mao's death and the arrest of the Four. These writings represented a concentrated and powerful effort by Mao and his allies to arm the people ideologically against the possibility of a revisionist coup. Also included are an introduction by Raymond Lotta in which he sets the documents in their historical context, biographical material on the Four, and representative writings from the Right (which have served as a blueprint for the restoration of capitalism in the name of modernization since the coup occurred). From the introduction: "For Mao what was principal, always, was line—not summarily purging, but developing movements through which the masses could grasp the questions involved, unleash their strength and enthusiasm, and heighten their awareness of right and wrong." "These are highly useful reference materials for understanding the developments of 1973-76, whether or not one agrees with Lotta's thesis."—*China Quarterly*

Banner. 1978. 522pp./Paper 0-916650-08-1

\$5.95



MAO TSETUNG'S IMMORTAL CONTRIBUTIONS by Bob Avakian

This book powerfully defends Mao's revolutionary line at a time when everything he fought for everything that inspired millions about revolutionary China, is being reversed in China and is under fierce attack from many quarters. Mao was no idle dreamer trying to impose an impractical vision on the world. No one knew better than he that there was no straight line to liberation but that through continued struggle the world would be won and remade by the people. This is an important summation and study of Mao's theoretical work in several key areas, including his immortal contributions on continuing revolution under the conditions of socialism. Avakian traces the contributions of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin in these areas and then focuses on those of Mao Tsetung. "This is no lightweight primer or ponderous tract. It is an ambitious study, closely argued and informed by a remarkable sense of history. It should excite more than a few readers about Marxism."—*San Francisco Review of Books*

RCP. 1979. 501pp./Paper 0-89851-021-X

\$4.95

Also available in Spanish

THE LOSS IN CHINA AND THE REVOLUTIONARY LEGACY OF MAO TSETUNG by Bob Avakian

The text of Avakian's speech at the historic Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings called by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA in September 1978. It gives a blow-by-blow account of the class struggle in China leading up to the right-wing coup in 1976 and analyzes why the reactionaries were able to gain the upper hand after Mao's death. It also goes into the effects of the coup on the international situation.

RCP. 1978. 151pp./0-89851-017-1

\$2.00

Also available in Spanish pamphlet.

A QUESTION OF POWER:

How Revolutionary China Got Rid of Drugs
by C. Clark Kissinger

The author traveled widely in China when the revolutionary working people, led by Mao Tsetung, held power, and he met with many people who participated firsthand in the national campaign which eliminated drugs. Today, the restoration of capitalism has brought drug traffic and drug addiction back to China. But the lessons of the Chinese revolution, so powerfully concentrated in this issue, remain. Reprinted from the *Revolutionary Worker*.

1) RCP. 1988. 12pp./0-89851-096-1

Pamphlet \$0.75

Also available in Spanish./0-89851-097-X

FILMS ABOUT REVOLUTIONARY CHINA

BREAKING WITH OLD IDEAS

Set in China's countryside in 1958, this dramatic feature film focuses on the struggle to revolutionize university education. The story pits a revolutionary educator, Lung Kuo-cheng, himself a former laborer, against capitalist elements within the Communist Party. Allied with the local peasantry and their children, who wish to attend the agricultural college without benefit of prior formal education, Lung puts Mao's theories into practice. Produced in China during the Cultural Revolution but banned there since the coup in 1976, *Breaking With Old Ideas* has been called "fascinating in its often successful efforts to combine didacticism with entertainment" (Janet Maslin, *New York Times*, 1977) and "very pleasurable, partly because the actors play with singular good humor and spirit, and partly because the political analysis... is clear and invigorating" (Amy Taubin, *Soho Weekly News*, 1977).

126 minutes. Color. VHS and PAL/VHS available. \$39.95 (20% discount)



MAO TSETUNG: THE GREATEST REVOLUTIONARY OF OUR TIME

This short film, featuring documentary footage from the Cultural Revolution as well as historic scenes from the war of liberation, gives a glimpse of the unprecedented upheaval in all spheres of society that characterized this revolution within a revolution. Especially noteworthy are footage of Mao in Yenan; of millions of Chinese welcoming the liberation forces led by Chairman Mao; of Mao visiting peasants during the Great Leap Forward; of villagers producing their own steel in the spirit of self-reliance; of peasants angrily confronting a corrupt official with his crimes during a People's Tribunal; and of Mao addressing millions of Chinese in Tien-an-Men Square during the height of the Cultural Revolution. This film was produced in 1978 by revolutionary filmmakers in the United States, in connection with the Mao Tsetung Memorial events.

25 minutes. Color. VHS. \$25.00 (20% discount)



WHITE-HAIRED GIRL

In this filmed ballet, Hsi-erh, a defiant peasant girl, fights off the rape attempt of her despotic landlord and flees into the hills, where her hair turns white from hardship. Nearby villagers think of her as a goddess or ghost until the Red Army liberates the village and she enrolls in its ranks, playing a major role in unleashing the fury of the villagers against their oppressors. She sings, "I will become a storm! I will become thunder that shakes the nine heavens!" Based on a popular tale of the people of Northern China, the *White-Haired Girl* combines elements of classical ballet and singing with elements of Chinese folk dancing and traditional Chinese opera—infusing them with a distinctly non-traditional content and transforming them in the process. Produced in China, this filmed ballet reflects changes made during the Cultural Revolution based on review and criticism by the masses.

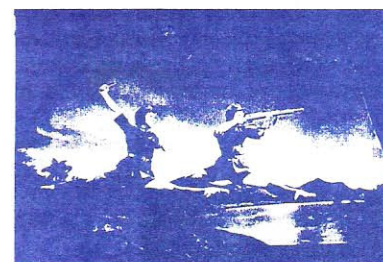
100 minutes. Color. VHS. \$25.00 (20% discount)



RED DETACHMENT OF WOMEN

We are proud to add the ballet *Red Detachment of Women* to our collection of works produced during the Cultural Revolution in China. The filmed version was shown on television and the ballet was performed by companies in the U.S. which led it to become the most widely known and acclaimed work internationally from that period. The story takes place during the Second Revolutionary Civil War Period (1927-1937) on Hainan Island, focusing on the transformation of a rebellious enslaved peasant girl into a politically conscious armed fighter for the liberation of China.

\$39.95 VHS (20% discount)



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